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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to examine how teachers develop their orientations to and strategies for addressing existing gender relations. Under investigation were the messages preservice teachers encountered in a Catholic Church-sponsored, State-regulated teacher education program in Bavaria, and the processes involved in students' political socialization and preparation for playing active or inactive roles in the politics of gender. Germany as the research setting is important because the system has always discriminated against women. Data were collected using ethnographic methods--involving observations and interviews conducted with 45 male and female preservice teachers. According to the data analysis, preservice teachers entered the program with preconceived notions of gender relations derived from the way they had been socialized previously--both at home and in schools. Twenty-one students were categorized as conservatives, 12 as liberal feminists, and 9 as radical feminists. The main body of the document discusses: prospective teachers' conceptions of gender relations; plans for political action by conservatives, liberal feminists, and radical feminists; messages about gender relations encountered in the teacher education program; and the program's influence on students' perspectives and orientations. (Contains approximately 50 references.) (LL)

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PREPARING TEACHERS FOR GENDER POLITICS IN GERMANY: THE STATE, THE CHURCH, AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Rajeshwari Raghu

Purpose of this Research

In all societies existing gender relations are characterized by structural and cultural inequalities between men and women (Chafetz 1984). Gender inequalities can be explained in part by differing biological functions (Orthner 1974) and by power relations (Connell 1985). However, gender inequalities are not solely the result of biological or structural determinants. Gender-role socialization and, more generally, social and or cultural practices in the education system, families and the broader society need to be considered in understanding how gender inequalities are maintained or altered over time (Romer 1981). Our attention to educational practices, moreover, warrants an investigation of how teachers -- as key actors in education -- develop their orientations to and strategies for addressing existing gender relations.

This research was designed to investigate the processes involved in the political socialization of pre-service teachers, particularly with respect to their preparation for playing active or inactive roles in the politics of gender. The study, thus, focused on how pre-service teachers come to think of themselves as political actors in relation to gender issues and how they develop, among other things, what is termed "political" orientations towards their future work (Blase 1987 and 1991; Carlson 1987; Sultana 1989). The research addressed the following questions:

1) What messages do students encounter in Catholic Church-sponsored, State-regulated teacher education program in Eichstätt, Bavaria about: a) the nature of gender relations and b) how teachers should deal with gender issues in their

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activity in classrooms, schools, and community?

2) How are students' views of: a) gender relations and b) teachers' roles in gender politics developed in the context of this teacher education program?

Theoretical Issues

In seeking to conceptualize the phenomema under study, we focus on a) the church and state as political institutions, b) teachers as political actors, and c) the political socialization of teachers.[1]

The Church and State as Political Institutions

As Ginsburg and Lindsay discuss in the first chapter of this volume, the state is a key political institution. In most contemporary societies the state is both the locus of power and a site of struggle over the distribution of material and symbolic resources, especially in relation to education. We should remember, however, that secular states are a relatively recent institutional development in the longer human history. Historically, the "church"[2] wielded power and was a site of struggles over such resource distributions. Today, organized religion continues as an important political institution. And while some societies (e.g., Mexico and the United States) have sought to formalize a separation of church and state, other societies are organized in ways that explicitly link the state to religious organizations (whether Christian, Islamic, or Jewish). These different situations evidence that both the church and state are political institutions; each (in different ways) can either provide ideological and structural support for the other or function to challenge the other's legitimacy (Robbins and Robertson 1987).

In cases, such as Eichstätt, Bavaria, Germany, although there may be tensions, the church and state function symbiotically. For instance, the state goverment of Bavaria, which is controlled by a conservative Christian party, funds and defines the parameters in which a Catholic organized

and staffed university operates. Not only are all university faculty and students formally subject to state and church regulations and authority, but those students seeking to become teachers depend on validation from the church-sponsored university in order to take state-regulated exams, which are prerequisites to obtaining teaching positions controlled by the state. In such a context, teacher education students engaged in contructing the identities and orientations as political actors face a fairly united front and relatively homogeneous messages about political issues, such as gender relations and what, if anything, teachers should do to reinforce or transform them.

Teachers as Political Actors

Teachers are key political actors in all societies (Freire 1973 and 1985). They have been known to use classroom strategies -- directly or indirectly, individually or collectively -- to shape or change certain aspects of society (Thomas 1983), for example, the nature of gender relations. Teachers may also influence students' ideas and practices with respect to gender through their modeling of behavior in classrooms, schools and the communities (Valli 1986). Experimenting with non-sexist pedagogies in the classroom (Weiler 1988), challenging patriarchal relations in the work place (Connell 1985; Weis 1990) and empowering students for a "project of possibility" (Simon 1987; Giroux 1990) are some of the activities which may serve as models of how students might also confront existing, unequal gender relations. Teachers can also model activities that conserve existing gender relations, such as discriminating against girls in the amount of attention directed to their intellectual work and using in an unproblematic way curricular materials that primarily depict men as power figures in the "public sphere" and women as care-givers in the "private sphere."

If teachers are political actors in classrooms, schools and communities and if their action or inaction can serve to reproduce or challenge existing gender relations, then it becomes important to understand how teachers develop their conceptions of existing gender relations and their orientation to perpetuate and transform them. Clearly, teachers learn these things, like other people, through their socialization in families and schools (Romer 1981; Anyon 1980; Valli 1986). However, teachers also experience a more formal and specialized form of occupational socialization. Although, as Lortie (1975) states, considerable socialization of teachers occurs prior to entering teacher education programs, experience in such formal preparation programs may be influential in the development of teachers' conception of gender relations and their orientation to preserving or transforming gender norms and practices.

Political Socialization of Teachers

The prior question, however, is how teachers come to socially construct their roles in particular ways so that their performances within the school and community serve to reproduce or challenge both culturally and structurally existing gender relations. Relevant to this question is the concept of political socialization, whereby future teachers learn about and develop orientations that may influence their future practice as "political actors" (Lacey 1975). These processes of socialization may serve to preserve traditional political norms and institutions or inculcate values different from the past (Hyman 1972).

Teacher preparation can be seen as designed to prepare the "good" teacher who will help develop the "good society" (Doyle 1990), including the preferred form of gender relations. In teacher preparation all individuals (teacher educators and prospective teachers) are immeshed in

a set of power relations. These power relations -- within higher education institutions, professional fields, and society more generally -- are what comprise the context for the development of pre-service teachers, and they serve to shape the nature of the political socialization of teachers.

The political socialization of pre-service teachers can be attained through formal and informal processes. The formal processes involve exposures to values, worldviews and practices through the prescribed, official curricula (Lynch an Plunkett 1973; Popkowitz 1987). The informal processes involve pre-service teachers encountering messages in the hidden curriculum, the social relations of teacher education and the political environment in which the teacher education operates (Eisner 1985; Ginsburg and Clift 1990). The hidden curriculum in this context is comprised of institutional policies as well as the practices of the teachers, administrators, and others connected with the institution. Some of the messages in the hidden curriculum include student expectations, classroom behavior, student evaluation, and student-teacher interactions inside and out of the classrooms (Lawton 1976; Rosser 1988). Also, teacher education needs to be investigated in the context of messages conveyed by existing national political and economic dynamics (Hewitson, McWilliam, and Burke 1991).

Political socialization in a passive, functionalist model portrays students as being socialized in the socially approved behaviors and attitudes necessary to support existing political systems (Thomas 1983). The active model of political socialization, in contrast, stresses how social actors actively construct their identity an orientations in the social and cultural context, characterized by contradictory messages. From this perspective, not all of the various institutional- and societal-level messages (mentioned above) are perceived and internalized by

prospective teachers; indeed, they may actively filter or reject some of the messages and seek out or develop alternative ideas (Ginsburg 1988; Ginsburg and Clift 1990). It is the latter, active model of socialization that informs this study, although I recognize that students' active construction of their political identities does not mean that they will be critical or change oriented.

National Context of the Research

Germany as the research setting is important because of the nature of its political systems that has influenced educational policies, both directly and indirectly (Brehmer 1987; Hearnden 1976; Pauwels 1984). Under different political regimes in Germany teachers have experienced political as well as professional training to suit the prevailing dominant group, its ideology and values (McInnis, Hiscocks and Spencer 1960). For example, during the Weimar period the republicans attempted to eliminate monarchist tendencies in teachers through various government directives, curriculum prescriptions, and (re)education efforts (Samuel and Thomas 1949). During the Nazi period teachers were called upon (and socialized) to instill fascist values concerning race and genetics (McIntyre-Stephenson 1971). After World War II East Germany tried to purge the fascist elements from the teaching force and as a result many of the teachers were expelled or forced to resign from their profession, while others seen as more reliable were subject to (re)education programs (Fishman and Martin 1987). Now in the reunified Germany the State is trying through analogous initiatives to eradicate "communist" elements from the educational system in the eastern zone. Clearly, all these processes were and are directed at forcing teachers to fit the prevailing State's model of the "good teacher."

With respect to gender relations, the German system has always been discriminatory against women in some form or the other (Brehmer 1987). Women experienced inequalities in every political era in the spheres of education, economics and politics. For example, elites during the Weimar period, despite their democratic credo, did not reform women's education due, at least in part, to the pervasiveness of the old nationalist elements in the Republic (Samuel and Thomas 1949). The Nazi period witnessed a further degradation of women as it implied and advocated the housewife and mother image as one of the anchors in women's education (Frick 1934). In East Germany, "democratic school reforms" were adopted after World War II, but women continued to carry the dual burden of working outside the house and doing unpaid domestic work (Toppendorf 1975). In West Germany policies stipulated "protection of women's reproductive capacity," which indirectly worked to perpetuate inequalities between men and women. And some public policies categorized certain public tasks as "heavy" and detrimental to women's reproductive organs, thus restricting women's opportunities to certain forms of paid work (Schöpp-Schilling 1985; Kolinsky 1989).

Institutional Setting

The institutional setting for this study was the Katholische Universität Eichstätt in the state (lander) of Bavaria in Germany. This is a private Catholic university whose Chancellor is the local Bishop. The state sponsors and subsequently employs the teachers; therefore, it alone decides and directs the university on how many students will be admitted to each strand of teacher education program. Although the faculty as well as the administrators are state civil servants, most of them are Catholic and some of them are also priests from a Seminary affiliated to the University. Of the approximately 3000 students at this university, about 550 were preparing to teach in Grundschulen, Hauptschulen, Realschulen and Gymnasia.[3] The students from all the four strands of the program are integrated during the time of their course work. However, each student has to follow a Handbook prepared by the State Education Department and take courses as per the requirements of the types of school for which he/she is preparing to teach. Program requirements range from 6-8 semesters of course work, though the students may spend more time in other departments before they decide to take the State Examination. At the end of the course work or program, the students take the first State Examination. After passing this examination, the students are involved in a practice-teaching internship, varying in length from 18-24 months depending upon the supervisors and the interns. Following the internship they take the second State Examination, which also concludes pre-service teacher preparation. From then on they would be considered as *Beampten* or civil servants.

Research Method

Data for this research were collected in the summer of 1991, using ethnographic methods (Bogdan and Biklen 1982; Bogdan and Taylor 1975; Jacobs and Schwarts 1979). The ethnography involved participant observation in classrooms, the cafeteria, the student union, the town's main church, the auditorium in the town where the students gathered informally, and the walkways along the river. Interviews were conducted with 45 male and female students at both the beginning level or junior students and the senior students (who had completed all course work requirements in the Grundschule, Realschule, Hauptschule and the Gymnasium strands of the program, but had not taken their state examination. The ethnography also involved content analysis of textbooks, class materials, bulletin board messages, and other relevant documents. Spradley's (1979 and 1980) domain, taxonomic, componential and theme approaches were used to analyze the data. Data analysis began in the field, with opportunities to check initial interpretations with informants or against subsequent observations and documentary analysis, and was concluded during the write-up phase of the research (for details see Raghu 1992).

Prospective Teachers' Conceptions of Gender Relations

Analyses of observation and interview data indicate that the preservice teachers who entered this teacher education program did so with preconceived notions of gender relations derived from the way they had been socialized previously both at home and in schools. Of the 45 male and female students who were interviewed, 21 were categorized as conservatives, 12 as liberal feminists, 3 as socialist feminists, and 9 as radical feminists.[4]

Conservatives -- the largest category of students (21 of the 45) -- viewed the existing

gendered division of labor at homes and in workplaces as logical and appropriate. Unequal gender relations, according to the conservatives, are so arranged to keep society functioning effectively and efficiently. To the conservatives, a woman's place is with the family and children. Biological and physiological differences between the sexes were seen by concervatives as determining the kind of work men and women should perform at home or outside the home. As one student stated: "Women cannot do heavy work. We should leave that for men." In this sense, the conservatives were non-feminists as they accepted and advocated existing gender arrangements based on their perceptions of the implications of biological and physiological differences between men and women.

Twelve (of the 45) informants, who identified attitudinal differences stemming from sex-role socialization as central to a division of labor, were labelled as liberal feminists. Though mildly criticizing the advantages and opportunities that men had over women, they also pointed out that the government policies have been and can continue to be changed so that the sexes are treated "fairly." One student noted: "As teachers we both will get the same salaries." They also advocated attitudinal changes of both sexes. As another student noted: "Our parents treat boys and girls differently. We need to change that."

Three (of the 45) students, who problematized gender relations in terms of patriarchal ideology and power relations between men and women, were categorized either as socialist feminist or radical feminists. While socialist feminists viewed existing gender relations critically and saw them as created and maintained through cultural practices, they located much of the blame for the oppression of women (and the exploitation of working class men) on the nature of the economic system. For example, one student discussed the correspondence of domestic

chores to their roles at workplace: "Traditionally women were expected to stay at home. And if they do go out to work, they are not taken seriously in the work place. They have to accept men as boss. Women perform similar tasks, such as making coffee or cleaning up."

The radical feminists -- comprising 9 of the 45 students -- also problematized gender relations like the socialist feminists. They agreed that social and cultural practices worked to sustain unequal gender relations in the societies. The radical feminists challenged the notion of "natural" acceptance of gender distinctions; instead, they pointed out how unequal gender roles are constructed through the institutions of marriage, heterosexuality, and motherhood. As one student noted: "As soon as we are 20-21, our parents start talking about marriage. Then they talk about having children." The radical feminists also did not believe in alienating themselves from men or other women. They believed that they could construct their own peaceful world, without having to compete with men. They also emphasized taking advantage of being "women" for peaceful change through nurturance and by "educating men."[5] In this sense, the radical feminists celebrated "being a woman."[6] A radical feminist asked: "Why should we fight with men? We can live harmoniously among ourselves."

The difference between socialist and radical feminists is that while the former were for struggling, re-evaluating, redefining, and reclaiming equality, the latter projected an alternative political mode, a peaceful solution, by promoting women's causes, feminist art, music and culture.

Plans for Political Action as Teachers

The prospective teachers' plans for political actions centered around the classroom and

field activities, specifically shaping the curriculum and organizing co- and extra-curricular activities. As to the questions whether teachers can and should be bringing gender issues to the attention of their students or otherwise addressing gendered norms and practices, these prospective teachers' responses varied in accordance with their conception of existing gender relations. In general, liberal, socialist and radical feminists, but not the conservatives, considered teachers are key "political" actors, who should and can play important roles to minimize, if not eradicate, inequalities men between and women. For conservatives existing arrangements between men and women are beneficial to both males and females as well as to the society as a whole; thus, the teacher's role was seen to involve socializing boys and girls for their respective appropriate roles. However, obtaining and maintaining a teaching position -- and thus pledging allegiance to the state and its ally the Catholic Church -- seemed to be the primary concern with all future teachers. At this point most of them did not want to upset their opportunities of being a civil servant, and hence most of them (regardless of their view of existing gender relations) anticipated being cautious about addressing gender issues in their activities in classrooms, schools and communities.

Plans for Political Action by Conservatives

Whether in classrooms or schools, the conservatives said they do not anticipate addressing gender issues. They planned to maintain the status-quo as they did not believe in disturbing present gender arrangements. They were comfortable with the current situation, and they thought that the current gendered division of labor worked well in the home and the community. As one conservative informant stated: "Feminists are bad for the society. They ruin the harmony in the families. We do not need that. We like the way it is. Men should be doing certain things and

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women have their places."

When asked how they might seek to address gender issues in their work and lives, the conservatives stated that they basically anticipated being "good" teachers. This involved two elements, both played out in the relatively isolated, "private" sphere of the classroom : 1) teaching the state-prescribed curriculum 2) not getting involved when "something" did not concern them personally. One conservative responded: "I want to teach my subject." Another explained: "I do not want to disturb anything, because I believe it is better that way." Others seemed annoyed at my questions about their plans for dealing with gender issues, replying "Leave me alone, don't bother me. I don't want to be rude to you!" or "Remember, my main concern is to graduate and get a job."

When queried specifically about plans for any "political" activities outside the classroom or school contexts, one female conservatives mentioned that she might do some "social work" as part of her duty towards helping people on humanitarian grounds. But generally most conservative females and many of their male counterpats did not have much in mind about public involvement. What they did say, moreover, clearly articulated their belief in a traditional gendered division of labor. Both male and female conservatives labelled certain activities as "indoor" (e.g., cooking, housecare, childcare) or "outdoor" (e.g., attending public meetings or participating in protest demonstrations). They argued that women should not be involved in "outdoor" activities because this would take women's time away from their families, thus causing marital disharmony. According to conservatives, union and professional organizational activities should be "left to the men." As one student commented: "Women should not be spending too much time with unions. It is men's work." And conservatives believed that even for men such

organizations were not so much a basis for engaging in "political" work as they were outlets for social and recreational activities, such as, sports, hobbies and special interests. "Oh yes, all men are expected to be members of some professional organization", was a comment from a conservative man. Conservative men also had another concern -- not being labeled an extremist. As one male student mentioned: "If my activity is concidered as radical by some people, it will jeopardize my career as well as my promotion prospects."

Plans for Political Actions by Liberal Feminists

The liberal feminists' focus for political action is 1) to socialize boys and girls for equal opportunities and 2) to integrate both sexes in all activities. For instance, they showed concern to avoid the practice by teachers of addressing boys and girls differently, with girls called by their first names and boys by their family names. This practice according to the liberal feminists, socialized boys and girls, respectively, for higher and lower positions in the social hierarchy and not for equal opportunities. Liberal feminists also indicated that they planned to integrate boys and girls in all activities, which would involve assigning similar classroom tasks to both sexes.

Attitudinal change was the main agenda in the liberal feminists' future classroom practice, which would discourage the present practice of expecting and promoting different roles for boys and girls. However, their plans for promoting attitudinal change were not without an element of apprehension. They were uneasy about the reaction of boys, if asked to learn the things that traditionally were learned by girls. As one of them put it: "I don't know how the boys will accept this."

As to curriculum decision-making or curriculum delivery, the liberal feminists stated that

text books and curriculum will have to be delivered as prescribed by the state. This, they anticipate, cannot be changed dramatically by the teachers. However, they anticipate making space to emphasize that both boys and girls had equal opportunities through equal appreciation, evaluation, and role expectations.

The liberal feminists also planned to use extra-curricular activities to address gender issues. For instance, they wanted to refrain from separating boys and girls during field trips -- a practice that was seen as unnecessarily creating gender divisions. Liberal feminists also planned to use field trips as occasions for countering assumptions that boys naturally assume leadership roles, while girls naturally take the back seats. As one liberal feminist student observed: "Mixing boys and girls might create opportunities for girls also to lead the groups."

With respect to community-based "political" activities, liberal feminists, particularly women, expressed caution concerning their future plans for addressing gender issues in ways that might be interpreted as a significant challenge to the status quo. Like the other categories of women, the liberal feminist females were generally hesitant to join professional associations or unions or to participate in protest marches or demonstrations. They preferred to keep a "low profile" in such activities, which they identified as outside the parameters of their expected roles as women. However, they did anticipate membership in unions, which used collective bargaining to enhance teachers' salaries, but only, as part of "a group with other women." Group activities gave them protection against being negatively evaluated by the society and their own family members.

While women liberal feminists preferred to be "inconspicuous" and cautious, their male counterparts did not seem to be as concerned about being noticed by others as members of unions

and professional associations. As was the case with the male conservatives, male liberal feminists indicated that such memberships are often expected of them. For the most part, liberal feminist men did not see any problem in being actively engaged in unions an professional associations. "In fact, I am already a member of a teachers' association," stated one liberal feminist man.

Like their conservatives sisters, the liberal feminist women did not anticipate participating in public debates to address gender issues. Some liberal feminist females, similar to some of their conservative sisters, saw themselves devoting some time for "social work," like helping women from Third World countries. For liberal feminist males, they stated that they might participate in public debates, but not specifically to address gender issues. Both male and female liberal feminists felt that school and classroom activities provided adequate opportunities for their "political" work to address gender issues.

Plans for Political Actions by Social Feminists

Socialist feminists' plans for political actions to challenge existing gender relations involved: 1) acting in ways that empower girls and boys, 2) problematizing the gender-biased content of textbooks, and 3) participating in formal organizations.

Socialist feminists hoped to transform gender relations at home, in education, in the economy and in politics. They anticipated engaging in activities that would empower boys and girls to think critically about and actively challenge existing gender relations. Socialist feminists identified many areas in classroom teaching and curriculum decision making for their "political" actions. Both male and female socialist feminists were enthusiastic about using classroom

activities to influence their students to think about and act to challenge gender issues. They anticipated making space in the formal as well as co- and extra-curricular activities to address gender politics.

Women and men holding a socialist feminist perspective, however, differed in their preferred curricular and organizational contexts in which they would address gender issues. While men tended to emphasize the Social Sciences, women stressed Home Economics as the most appropriate curricular areas for focusing students' attention on the problematic nature of men's and women's roles. For instance, one male socialist feminist explained: "In history and Arts classes we can talk about women who have contributed but are not mentioned in the texts." Female socialist feminists said they anticipated challenging the practice of training boys and girls in home economic areas that traditionally have been ear-marked, respectively, for men and women. For example, a female socialist feminist commented: "Gender tracking for the division of labor starts in such classes; we have to do something about it." Another observed that although normally "[i]n home economics boys elect to learn carpentary work and girls automatically join cooking lessons, I would like to change this practice."

Like their liberal feminist peers, the socialist feminists (males and females) also wanted to change the practice in schools of addressing boys by their family names and girls by their first names. As one female socialist feminist explained: "When boys are addressed by their family names, they think that they are superior to girls. I want to change this attitude."

Socialist feminist women anticipated using cultural activities and sports to equalize boys' and girls' roles. This was possible through elocution, debates, singing, and play-acting. "We can write different parts for boys and girls [not gender stereotyped, as is the practice now] for plays,"

noted one respondent.

Women in the socialist feminist group do not plan to be associated with feminist groups or other such organizations to address gender issues. Like the conservatives and the liberal feminists they were concerned about the repercussions of being involved in such public forms of political activity. They might, however, be willing to be associated with groups that addressed other social issues, but not specifically gender issues. Most of them were hesitant about the negative connotation associated with the term "feminist". One female socialist feminist student stated emphatically: "I may want to work for women's causes, but I do not want to be called a feminist." Male socialist feminists also did not anticipate addressing gender issues through political organizations or any feminist groups. However, one of them did state: "If it is necessary, yes, I will do it."

Unlike the women in the conservative and liberal feminist groups, the socialist feminist women would join the teachers' associations or unions, but only to strengthen efforts for better salaries and working conditions for teachers. Men proposed to be actively engaged in union activities, though again not specifically to address gender issues.

Socialist feminist women also planned to participate in community activities, but mainly to engage in "social work" efforts, not to debate about or engage in struggles concerning women's issues. Some spoke with interest about the possibility of developing a women's center, where issues about women's situation could be openly discussed. Some also identified the plight of women who were brought into the country by German men as one concern that would mobilize them to public political action. They planned to address this situation of exploitation of foreign women by German men by speaking at public forums, writing letters to the editor, and

organizing photo exhibits. Male students with a socialist feminist perspective also criticized this practice, but did not volunteer what actions they might take to stop this practice.

Plans for Political Actions by Radical Feminists

The radical feminists identified different areas and strategies to influence children to think about and act in relation to gender issues. Their plans include: 1) creating critical awareness in students, 2) celebrating being a woman, 3) demonstrating concern for harmony, and 4) participating in activities through formal organizations.

The radical feminists recognized that empowering their students to think critically about gender relations was very important. They believed that being a woman is not a handicap, but a powerful experience which men lack; hence, they located their strength in being women. The reason as they saw it is that "women have different kind of strength." As one of them noted:

> Women can perform several tasks at the same time. We do not need physical strength. We can have children, work full-time, and also participate in national politics. Look at the women in the Green Party. All those women are highly educated and have children.

This is a message that radical feminists planned to convey to their students. As one female radical feminist noted: "I plan to tell the children that there is no difference in being a boy or a girl. We [women] can equally accomplish what men can."

The radical feminists concurred with the other feminist groups in relation to the text books provided by the state. They do not see how they could change or alter the curriculum, but stated that they would make space in the way they teach the content, presenting the curriculum in a different way. As one radical feminist pointed out: "We have a lot of opportunities while teaching religion. There are many stories which we can tell." Like their socialist feminist

counterparts, men with a radical feminist perspective planned to use social science subjects for change efforts. Women placed their emphasis on religion or language classes. As one female radical feminist student noted: "In library reading and language classes, we can influence students to read about problems associated with women." Another noted: "I will be teaching music, and art. I can make sure that boys and girls learn the same instrument or express the same themes in their art work." Radical feminists women planned additionally to raise consciousness about gender relations through extra- and co-curricular activities. Debates, school-speeches, bulletin boards, drama and singing were some areas they proposed to use to influence children to think critically about gender relations. According to one student: "I think songs and plays will be very effective for raising gender-related awareness." Unlike the conservatives and the liberal feminists, who preferred the cloak of participating in a group, the radical feminists planned to become active addressing social issues in this manner even if others did not initially join them.

The radical feminists agreed with the socialist feminists that a women's center would be helpful for women to deal with gender politics. Unlike the socialist feminist who did not have a concrete idea of what they wanted to do in the women's center apart from debating, the radical feminists stated that they would have used the center for peaceful projects. Some suggestions were that they could have encouraged communicating a feminist perspective in art, music, and literature. The radical feminists were quite clear about not proposing highly confrontational measures for dealing with problems of gender inequalities. They wanted the center to offer men (and women) an opportunity to understand the problems from a feminist perspective.

Unlike the women from the other gender perspectives, radical feminists (some of them) planned to affiliate themselves openly with feminist organizations. One of them stated that she

was already a member, while another was a member but was uncomfortable publicizing this fact.

Men in the radical feminist group did not have any problem being active through professional associations or unions. This was partly because they wanted to express solidarity to the group, in addition to performing "outside" work that was expected of them as men. Radical feminist women also regarded membership in unions as men's work, but were going to join anyway. However, they stated that they do not anticipate to be as active as their male counterparts.

Male radical feminist students stated that they anticipated active participation outside the school in public debates and community activities. Radical feminist women were willing to participate in street politics, lobbying and demonstrating, which was not the case with other women. Some would be directly engaged, and others not so directly. Women also planned to organize exhibitions and distribute leaflets to address women's issues. Some of them were already engaged in such activities. Among the radical feminist, men anticipate some intensity in their work, but women pointed out that they (as women) would be handicapped because of family obligations. As one of them expressed it: "We may want to be very active, but we will have time constraints, due to familial ties."

Messages Encountered in the Teacher Education Program

Given the range of views evidenced by students in this teacher education program, it is important to examine the messages transmitted by the official and hidden curriculum of the program that these students may have perceived and accepted or rejected. We will look both at messages concerning the nature of gender relations and at messages concerning the political roles

teachers can or should play.

Messages About Gender Relations

Students received messages about gender issues directly from the church and the state as well as indirectly through the faculty, some of whom were priests and all of whom were state civil servants. One of the direct messages they encountered from the church was that they were expected to maintain the traditional values. The indirect messages transmitted by the faculty and the priests were the approval/disapproval of male and female behavior, both on and off campus. In short they had a well defined social script according to which they were expected to act.

Because the church managed the university, conservative religious values tended to permeate the personal lives of students (and faculty). For example, the three groups of feminist students whom I interviewed referred critically to the church's view on matters relating to divorce and abortion. A divorce could cost a student his/her admission. Therefore, many of the students learn to keep their personal life concealed, to comply with the church's wish (living with their partners, having children before marriage or a possible separation/divorce). The conservatives, however, did not think that the church should behave differently. They were particularly happy that the church discouraged divorces, which helped to maintain social stability.

One of the direct messages from the state was that gender issues were not important, in that the state prescribed curriculum was generally silent on women's issues. When gender relations were portrayed, this was done in a way to portray traditional male and female roles in a taken-for-granted manner. For example, in an art class the students were discussing an earlier assignment, which involved evaluating the form and content in the drawings done by kindergarten

children. Some of the drawings showed a "mother" with big eye lashes pushing a shopping cart or walking with children. The instructor remarked that little boys know how to distinguish a male and a female face and, hence, this one has added "eye lashes" to his "mama." He also mentioned that children spend most of their time with the mothers and notice what they do during the day. He seemed to accept the fact that mothers (not fathers) were expected to spend time with the children.[7]

The gendered division of labor in schools is also portrayed unproblematically. For instance, in one of the methods class an instructor identified female teachers with small children. He seemed to suggest that women are most suited to handle small children in Grundschule. His comments seemed to signal the care-taking roles of women extending to elementary schools, suggesting that children found emotional security in female teachers. Such suggestions seemed to indicate that nurturing and women were closely connected. At the same time such messages about women being ideally suited to nuture young children also communicated that the reason males should be in the Grundschule program was so that they could manage women teachers in the elementary schools. As one student noted about a faculty member's "surprise" to find males in this program: "It may seem that [the professor] is encouraging men to be Grundschule teachers, but in reality he is trying to tell all of us (women) that there is a potential administrator sitting amongst you."

That males are more likely to occupy dominant positions was also communicated by the fact that the faculty members and the senior administrators were predominantly men, while female faculty members were mostly junior in rank, and depended on male votes for promotions. That the Church was also dominated by men -- e.g., all priests were male and during religious

processions men led and women followed behind -- was also a powerful message perceived by at least some students. For example one woman noted: "Men are protected by the church, and they know that they can continue to enjoy freedom, power, and status."

Furthermore, male instructors, particularly those who were priests, seemed to elevate the position of men in the classes. As one female student commented, while pointing to a male student: "He is in one of my classes. A priest teaches this class. [The priest] never looks at girls. [The priest] gives more importance to boys, even lets them ask more questions." Women students expressed in interviews that such favoritism toward male students, especially by faculty who were priests, tended to build men's confidence and undermine women's confidence.

Messages About Teachers' Political Action

There was little attention in the official curriculum concerning the role of teachers as political actors. Rather the emphasis in the program was to prepare students to be skilled in what were portrayed as professional and technical activties. The content of the lectures and workshops focused on the methods of teaching, use of teaching aids, use of psychology with children, and classroom management. As one student observed: "The professors teach us how to control the class and discipline the students."

The hidden curriculum transmitted similarly depoliticized messages. The students stated that they have been influenced by their professors as models to remain silent on controversial issues. As one of them observed: "The professors do not discuss women's problem in the class. We don't know if we can discuss it at all." Even outside the classrooms the faculty rarely discussed with students social issues, such as the nature of gender relations. The religious

conservatism of the faculty, their peers and others also have influenced them to be cautious in their approach to dealing with any problems. As one liberal feminist male student noted: "I have to be careful. The priests, prospective priests and my friends observe me all the time. In this Catholic university, we have to accept and support the religious beliefs. Otherwise I will be in trouble."

Everybody connected with the University, directly or indirectly, was expected to be mutually in agreement to the control of the church and the state at all occasions, including being present during church services at the beginning and end of the term. Under the circumstances, it is clear that the ideological state/church apparatus[8] is not limited to the academic sphere, but also encompasses the personal lives.

Pressure toward conformity to Church and State authority also occurs for students in the teacher education program at Eichstätt during their practice teaching and internship period. During practice teaching the interns' zeal dies or is negated as they are constantly supervised for "negative behavior." Future employment opportunities depended on the supervisors review; hence, most of the students observe caution while they practice-teach.

Program Influence on Students' Perspectives and Orientations

How did the students deal with the messages in the program? In what ways were they influenced, if at all? Were their perspectives and orientations reinforced or challenged and changed?

In general the senior students who had spent between 6-8 semesters in course work did not think that either their views about gender relations or their plans for engaging in political

action on issues of gender in school and communities had changed much during the course of their experience in the program.[9] Some changes were nevertheless reported. For example, women, in particular stated that they have matured progressively and come to understand better the problems of the society, including those linked to gender relations.[10]

Conservatives stated that the program has helped them to strengthen their views on their roles as men and women, in the school, as family members and as members of the community. Some conservative women stated that their roles as teachers should correspond to their roles in their families. As one conservative female student advocated: "Teaching in Grundschule is like [having responsibility for] childcare at home." The conservatives made it clear that they were not so concerned about any change in their gender perspectives, because their main focus was to be efficient teachers. They seemed to prefer a role that corresponded to their roles at home.

The students with various feminist perspectives certainly did not find much in the official or hidden curriculum to reinforce their views about the nature of gender relations. While the conservative messages encountered in the program did not encourage them to rethink how they viewed gender relations -- indeed, some found themselves strengthening and refining their perspectives in the face of such conservative messages, their program experiences discouraged many of them from becoming active in trying to change gender relations. For example, one radical feminist student, although committed to having a Women's Center as a site for promoting a feminist agenda, expressed her doubt about ever having such a center. The reason that she gave was: "Things are too tightly controlled by religious-based values of the university and the state. This is difficult to happen."

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Conclusions

To understand why these prospective teachers developed their political identities in the way they did we need to consider the ideology and structural power of the state and the church. In this case, the state controlled the curriculum, professional licensing exams, and teaching positions. The church managed the university, supplied priests as some of the faculty members, organized religious and cultural activities, and performed a surveilance function over students' (and faculty's) public and private lives. The messages of conserving traditional values and not challenging the status quo are further strengthened by the fact that the state government is dominated by the conservative Christian Democratic Party.[11]

Thus, it is not surprising that the largest category of the students (21 out of 45) were I labelled as conservatives, who did not plan to change the status quo with respect to gender relations or more generally. Instead, they projected their "political" role as teachers to consist of performing their duty as state employees to deliver state-sponsored curriculum. However, despite the fact that the church-controlled, state-sponsored teacher preparation program at Eichstätt was conservative, not all students were conservative in their perspectives on gender relations or in their plans for "political" actions concerned with gender issues. Some like the liberal feminists were mildly critical of existing gender roles and desired to change people's attitudes to achieve more equitable and less biased arrangements. They did not see much space for themselves to directly change gender relations, but saw their role as treating boys and girls more equally and promoting gender-neutral attitudes so that in the future gender inequities would be reduced or eliminated. The socialist and radical feminists strongly criticized existing gender relations, and planned to "redefine" gender relations through current efforts but mostly in their future activities.

The socialist feminists critiqued existing gender relations but were apprehensive about the consequences of challenging the power of the Church and the State. Like the liberal feminists, the socialist feminist anticipated that they would mostly engage in classroom and extra-curricular school activities to raise gender issues among students, in the hope that they would create a future society less characterized by patriarchal and other forms of social inequalities. The radical feminists planned to engage in peaceful, non-confrontational, but more often overt and community-based political strategies.

The conservative students did not really face the dilemma of how to change things without sacrificing "success" (graduating and getting a good teaching position), since their perspectives and orientations were in line with those in positions of authority within the Church and the State. To varying degrees, however, the feminists facing this dilemma preferred to "go with the flow" for the present. Most of the liberal, socialist, and radical feminist sought to resolve this dilemma by what Lacey (1975) terms "strategic compliance." That is, they decided for the most part to maintain silence (by not speaking and not acting publicly on their critique of existing gender relations) until they got into their future positions as teachers, when they believed they would be less closely controlled by the church/state or any authority structure. While the liberal, socialist, and radical feminists may be correct in predicting a different orientation in the future, it may be that their positioning vis-a-vis the church and the state will continue even after the program is finished and they have obtained their coveted teaching positions. Most of the students are Catholic and after certification they are likely to continue to exhibit their allegiance to the Church, at least because they will be employed in Bavaria, a Catholic state. As all teachers in Germany are state employees, the student-state relations will

continue even after their teacher education is completed. Time will tell how they play out their "political" roles as teachers, though if the university faculty and school teachers with whom they came in contact during their teacher education program at Eichstätt are any indication, we should not expect these students to become very active politically in transforming gender relations in Germany.

This study leads me to believe that people committed to developing teachers' understanding of and orientations to transform gender relations must strive to incorporate in the official curriculum a focus on gender relations analyzed from various, including different feminist, perspectives. Instead of the silence we observed at Eichstätt, gender issues should be highlighted in relation to various aspects of the study of teaching and schooling: curriculum, pedagogy, evaluation, administration-teacher relation, etc. Attention should also be given to gender relations in the home and community and how they are connected with the schooling process. It is critical to give future teachers an alternative source of visions and empower them with conceptual tools to reflect critically on issues of gender. Moreover, by linking analyses of gender issues to the conservative and potentially transformative activity of teachers in schools and communities, teacher education program curriculum can help future teachers to orient their practice to actively reflect their value commitments.

It is also necessary that attention be given to messages conveyed through the hidden curriculum, which may be even more influential than the official curriculum in socializing prospective teachers. Inactive participation in gender politics at Eichstätt resulted from the way male and female instructors performed their roles. First, male and female students need to be given the same kind of attention in or outside of classrooms. Equal encouragement needs to be

given in terms of career choice, and traditional views (men make good administrators and women are best-suited to be teachers in Grundschulen) are not transmitted in an unproblematic manner.

Second, the gender ratio of faculty and administrators needs to be addressed. Heavy concentration of males as administrators and senior faculty in the teacher preparation program at Eichstätt was interpreted as perpetuating and legitimating power in male hands. Struggles over whether males and/or females should be appointed and promoted at the university not only may change the gender ratio of faculty, but the process of struggle itself could model for future teachers the kinds of institutional level political action in which they may need to participate.

Third, faculty need to be models as agents of transformative political action in educational instutitutions and the community. This entails being engaged in individual and collective struggles for progressive causes and making such involvement more explicit to the students. If faculty merely encourage students to be active, while appearing to remain uninvolved, it is likely that student will see the contradiction and follow the safer path of low profile or non-involvement which is the case now.

Endnotes

1. This chapter only briefly summarizes the literature on teachers as political actors and the political socialization of teachers because the issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter 1 of this volume.

2. The term, church, is used here to represent all forms of organized religion, whether they be associated with churches, mosques, synagogues, temples, etc., as places of wor ship.

3. Grundschulen are elementary schools; Realschulen and Hauptschulen are both ten-year, terminal, secondary schools; and Gymnasia are academic high schools leading to university education.

4. The breakdown of students' conceptions of gender relations was remarkably similar for males and females as can be seen in the table below:

Sex	Conserv.	Lib. Fem	Soc. Fem.	Rad. Fem.	TOTAL
Male	11	6	1	5	23
Female	10	6	2	4	22
Total	21	12	3	9	45

5. "Educating men" did not correspond to socializing like the liberal feminists, but to consciousness raising or creating awareness.

6. Being a woman was considered to be more powerful than by being a man. For one thing the radical and socialist women thought that while women could live without men, the same was not true for men.

7. The content of the school textbooks, which the interns encountered during their teaching practice, contained similar messages portraying the non-problematic nature of the existing

gendered division of labor. For example, an illustration in one of the textbooks showed a "mother" shopping and the "father" working outdoors. These were not problematized in the text, nor for that matter by the classroom teachers or student interns.

8. This concept, which represents an extension of Althusser's (1971) "ideological state apparatus," signals how at least in this case the Church and State operate symbiotically to promote a world view that preserves existing unequal social arrangements.

9. The junior students were new in the program. Most of them were either in their first or second semester and, hence, could not contribute to this issue as much as the seniors. Most of the junior students were still in the process of experiencing the program effects. Most of them expressed that "[w]e have not taken many classes yet" or "[w]e do not know yet."

10. Interestingly, some the women commented that by participating in this research their views on gender issues had changed, becoming more critical in observing social relations between men and women. As one of them remarked: "Your research has set us thinking. Before this we never paid much attention to how men and women are treated in schools or at work. We just accepted it, as how it is supposed to be. Now we have started questioning."

11. It should be noted that for many students the the church's management in their daily lives was not resented, but to the contrary was welcomed. Indeed, many of these future teachers opted to study at the Catholic University of Eichstätt because the university's religion department had a good reputation.

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